

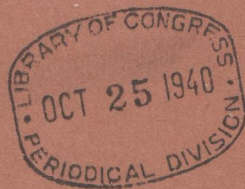
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Platform and Programmatic Documents of the International Communist Opposition



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Communist Party of United States (Opposition)

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

In the present condition of the revolutionary movement, in which the Communist movement is divided, in which sections of the Socialist movement are groping for a way out, clarity on matters of principle and preciseness in the formulation of a tactical approach towards present-day problems is most essential.

For the growing number of thinkers in the revolutionary movement the publication of this volume is most essential. In this volume are to be found a number of official documents which place clearly the position of the International Communist Opposition on such questions as Trotskyism, Centristism, New International etc.. These documents, while clarifying the position of the I.C.O. in relation to the Communist International, also take up and react to vacillations in its own ranks.

To the student of the Communist movement this volume is invaluable.

New York City.

June - 1934.

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PLATFORM of the INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST OPPOSITION.

Adopted by the International Communist Opposition,
at the International Conference of December, 1930.

I.
BASIC PRINCIPLES.

The International Communist Opposition stands on the basis of the fundamentals of Communism. It fights for:

1. The establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in the form of the Soviet state as the necessary transition to a classless Socialist society.
2. The defense of the Soviet Union as a proletarian state.

The Communist Opposition regards the consolidation of the Communist Parties and movements in the individual countries into a united Communist Party, into the Communist International as indispensable. The organizational foundation of the Communist International as well as of its sections is democratic centralism. Revolutionary discipline, based upon democratic centralism, is the indispensable binding force of the Communist International, and Parties.

Democratic centralism means:

1. That the decisions be arrived at on the basis of the discussions and the participation of the Party membership. The discussion must, of course, take place within the bounds of Communist fundamentals.
2. that the functionaries of the Party be elected by the membership and can be removed by the membership at any time in the proper manner.
3. that the decisions arrived at by the Party Committees in such a manner are unconditionally binding upon the membership.
4. That during any action, discussion as to the necessity of the action (but not as to the manner of carrying it thru) cannot take place.
5. That after its conclusion every action is subject to discussion and examination by the membership.

Revolutionary discipline must serve the carrying out of a correct Communist policy. But if discipline stands in the service of a false policy, then it becomes more grotesque foolishness (Lenin). Whereas, with a correct Communist policy, the formation of fractions and tendencies is impermissible in a Communist party, yet when the attempt is made to put thru a wrong policy by disciplinary measures, the formation of fractions becomes a revolutionary duty. Discipline within a Communist fraction or tendency must be even stricter than within a Communist Party.

II.

The International Communist Opposition carries on an uncompromising struggle against open reformism and against hidden reformism (centrism). Its aim is the complete destruction of the influence of reformism upon the working class.

III.

The International Communist Opposition aims at neither building a new Communist Party nor a new Communist International.

It aims to overcome the crisis in the existing parties of the Communist International and in the Communist International as a whole, to save and to restore to health the Communist world movement, to reestablish its unity and fighting power upon the tactical principles of Leninism.

1. Where the Communist Opposition wins the majority of the Communist Party and where the Communist International organizes a counter-party against it, there the Communist Opposition takes over to the fullest extent the tasks of the Communist Party. It has the task of eliminating the minority outside of its ranks as a separate organization. In this case, the Communist Opposition is on a National scale, a component part of the International Communist tendency.

2. Where the Communist Party (ultra-left tendency) is rooted among the masses or is a mass party, there the Communist Opposition organized as a Communist tendency, has the objective of winning the Party.

3. In a country where the official Communist tendency is rooted among the masses, the chief task of the Communist Opposition is to create the basis for a Communist mass party out of the existing elements

IV.

The International Communist Opposition whether inside the Party or expelled, whether minority or majority of the Communist Parties, is therefore a part of the Communist International and its sections. It is an organized tactical tendency of Communism.

V.

The International Communist Opposition fights against the ultra-left course of the Communist International and its sections which represents a break with the tactical principles of Leninism, which contradicts the necessity of the class struggle practicably in its present stage, which make the Communist Parties incapable of stimulating mass actions of the workingclass, of leading them and of winning the majority of the working class for the revolution and which finally destroys the Communist Parties themselves by paralyzing the independence of its membership and by replacing democratic centralism by the absolute power of the Party bureaucracy. The Communist Opposition likewise fights all attempts to carry through an unprincipled, partial and bureaucratic elimination of the ultra-left course which necessarily must lead to opportunist deviations (conciliations").

SITUATION OF WORLD CAPITALISM.

The International Communist Opposition bases its tactical views and demands upon the following estimation of the situation of world capitalism:

The chief stages in the development of capitalism since the World War are the following:

1. The post-war crisis, which was accompanied by the first outbreak of the world revolution. The post-war crisis expressed itself in the absolute diminution of production, in the decline of world trade, in the disruption of international credit and in the collapse of fixed values and standards in a number of countries. The first open outbreak of the world revolution led to the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union. In Central Europe the developing proletarian revolutions were beaten back with the aid of Social-Democracy. In a number of countries the bourgeois counter-revolution however put an end, more or less to the still unsolved tasks of the bourgeois revolution (Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland). The first open outbreak of the world revolution was closed with the overcoming of the post-war crisis and the reestablishment of the political domination of the bourgeoisie in all countries outside the Soviet Union.

The close of the first stage of the world revolution was accompanied in Europe by the overcoming of the inflation crisis in Germany in 1923-4; in Asia, by the defeat of the workers and peasants by the Chinese bourgeoisie (1927).

2. The so-called stabilization of capitalism. It rests upon the overcoming of the post-war crisis and the reestablishment of the domination of the bourgeoisie hitherto shattered.

The so-called stabilization of capitalism is, therefore, no mere economic phenomenon. It signifies the reestablishment of capitalism, economic and political. Relative stabilization is only a phase in the period of general decline of capitalism. The general decline of capitalism does not mean however that capitalism is in decline at an equal rate in every country or has already declined to the same extent in every country. The decline of capitalism proceeds unevenly in the individual countries, just as did its rise. Thus, e.g., the collapse of capitalism in Europe had as a consequence the ascendancy of capitalism in America. Humanity is faced with this question: either progress through the world revolution or relapse into barbarism through the destruction of all the achievements of mankind.

The end of stabilization is characterized through a new outbreak of the world revolution, i.e., through the workingclass and its allies passing to immediate attack against the domination of capital.

The next outbreak of the world revolution is inevitably approaching in revolutionary struggles in India and it shows that the world revolution is already in progress in the East.

The objective prerequisites for the resumption for the struggle for power, i.e., for a new acute revolutionary situation, can be created through economic crisis or war.

An economic crisis does not mean in itself the end of so-called stabilization. It only signifies such an end if the working class makes use of the objective revolutionary possibilities created for overthrowing the rule of capital.

For the bourgeoisie there is no situation in itself without a way out. If the working class fails, then the bourgeoisie will find a way out of the crisis at the expense of the toilers, under the certain conditions, through the triumph of extreme counter-revolution.

It is incorrect to speak of a third special period of post-war capitalism but upon a schematic transference of the chief stages of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. In the economic development of the Soviet Union, the following three chief stages are to be distinguished:

1. the period of War Communism.
2. The restoration period in which it was a question of putting the old establishments into motion again and reaching the level of pre-war production.
3. the reconstruction period in which production is extended on the basis of new establishments.

The transference of these periods to the development of the capitalist countries is false:

1. because, it is in general false to estimate capitalist economy on the analogy of Socialist construction.
2. because, in most of the capitalist countries, no such destruction of the capitalist productive apparatus took place as in the Soviet Union during the Civil War.

3. because, in the capitalist countries, the pre-war level of production had already been reached on the basis of the renewal of the productive apparatus.

The idea that a special period of the shattering of stabilization must be assumed, is erroneous:

1. because, the impression is thereby created that capitalist stabilization itself has no contradictions or shocks.
2. because, it serves as the basis for the thesis of the immediately imminent revolutionary upsurge, of the immediately imminent revolution, which has been continually announced by the Communist International. In reality it depends on the working class and on the correct policies of the Communist Parties whether objective revolutionary possibilities can lead to the revolutionary upsurge and the struggle for power. If the working class makes no use of these revolutionary possibilities, then, the shaking of the stabilization passes and thereby also the third period, which according to the Comintern, was supposed to be the stage immediately before the revolution. The practical harm of the fiction of the third period consists in the effect it has in derailing the Communist parties from their tasks of carrying through the organizational and political preparations for the struggle for power. The consequence of this is either putschism or passivity.

Between the daily struggle and the immediate struggle for power of the working class there is no Chinese wall. But the struggle for power can only arise thru the sharpening and intensifying of the daily struggle. The transition of one to the other takes place not thru empty talk and high-sounding prophecies but thru careful and systematic utilization of the daily struggle to awaken in the working class an insight and understanding of the struggle for power and the organization of this struggle.

TACTICAL PRINCIPLES.

From the estimation of the situation of world capitalism as well as from the viewpoint of the tactical fundamentals of the Communist Opposition:

1. The readoption of the tactics of the united front. The tactics of the united front rest upon the rallying of the workers, without the regard to political or other views, for partial struggle for daily aims and demands.

The tactics of the united front have for their aim neither a lasting alliance with Social-Democracy nor the organizational fusion of the Communist parties with Social-Democracy but rather the winning of the majority of the working class for Communism.

The tactics of the united front have for their aim the mobilization and the concentration of the masses for struggle against the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state. The utilization of the united front tactics therefore signifies no approach (getting nearer) to the Social-Democracy and reformism in general but rather a political enlightenment of the masses as to the anti-labor character of the policy of collaboration with the bourgeois state (especially the coalition policy) which is carried on by the Social-Democracy. Wherever Communist labor organizations exist side by side with labor organizations basing themselves on other principles (reformist, anarchist, Christian), the tactics of the united front constitute an indispensable means for the winning of the majority of the working class for the fundamentals and aims of Communism, i.e., for the struggle for Soviet power.

2. The tactics of the united front require for their execution the setting up of such daily slogans or partial demands which correspond to the existing conditions and to the existing stage of understanding of the masses of the toilers as a whole. With such daily demands which are definite and serve immediate aims for action, is to be tied up propaganda for demands which concretely prepare the minds of the workers for the transition of the struggle for power (revolutionary transitional slogans) as well as the propaganda of the Communist fundamentals and aims.

3. The activity of the Communists in Parliament and municipal councils must side by side with basic revolutionary propaganda aim at the organization of the united front of the workers in extraparliamentary

mentary activity. Parliamentary activity must be subordinated to extra-parliamentary activity and must be adapted to the conditions of the extra-parliamentary struggle.

VIII.

THE NATIONAL QUESTION.

On the national question, the Communist Opposition stands on the basis of the thesis of the II World Congress of the Communist International and, therefore fights:

1. against all concessions to bourgeois chauvinism and nationalism, i.e., all attempts to subordinate social questions to national questions and to liquidate or even to weaken the class antagonism between proletariat and bourgeoisie in the interests of the so-called national unity.

2. Against national nihilism, i.e., lack of attention to the concrete questions of the struggle against national oppression in the individual countries.

IX

TRADE UNION WORK.

Revolutionary work in the trade unions, with the aim of creating united trade unions participating in the general class struggle of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism, and after the seizure of power for taking part in the construction of Socialism, is the most important tactical demand of the International Communist Opposition. For this it is necessary to eliminate the reformist influence in the trade unions and to make Communist influence dominant (winning the trade unions).

Here several distinctions must be made:

1. Countries in which the trade union movement is still united (Germany, Sweden, Finland, England, etc.) Here the Communist Opposition is against the formation of the new "revolutionary" trade unions; it is for tactics that will make it as difficult as possible for the reformists to realize their splitting tactics.

2. Countries in which "Red unions" exist. Here also the general course must be for the reestablishment of trade union unity. But this reunification must not be fought for as a capitulation of the red unions before the reformist unions but rather along the road of strengthening the red unions.

3. Countries in which mass trade unions are only just beginning to be established (India, etc.) or in which the trade unions consciously prevent the organization of definite groups of workers, (especially unskilled workers, as in the U.S.A).

In the last named countries the Communist Opposition pursues the following tactical viewpoint in its revolutionary trade union work:

1. It must use as a basis for the formation of the trade unions all existing trade unions which have a mass character.

2. New trade unions should be organized in those industries in which no trade unions exist as yet or where the existing trade unions have no mass basis at all.

3. The general question of organizing the unorganized must be connected with the question of forming a left-wing, in the existing trade unions. All efforts must be made to utilize the resources of the old unions for the organization of the unorganized into new unions or for winning them into the old unions.

"Fighting leaderships" established in opposition to the majority of organized workers involved are to be rejected. Communists must strive to win the leadership of economic struggles thru winning decisive influence among the organized workers of the factories involved.

If a strike takes place where the workers involved are not organized, then the strike committee must see to it that the strikers are organized into the trade union movement.

X

STRUGGLES AGAINST FASCISM.

The struggle against Fascism can only be effectively conducted if the Communists strive to win the non-Communist workers and the reformist workers for this struggle. This is impossible as long as the Social-democratic workers are ascribed fascist desires (theory of Social-fascism). The "theory of social-fascism" - because it rests on a false estimation of class forces prevents an effective fight against real fascism. Communists must be leaders in the defense of all rights, organizations and institutions of the working class against fascism which wants to destroy them.

XI.

INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS.

The International Communist Opposition calls attention to the necessity of the organization of international political campaigns to unite the international movement of the working class and to serve the struggles of the workers against the bourgeois international politics. On this field the following questions are noteworthy:

1. The struggle against the Young plan.
2. Against the international anti-Soviet campaign - for the defense of the Soviet Union.
3. Against the international Fascist danger.
4. Against unemployment.
5. Against imperialist armaments and war preparations.

6 . Against the imperialist oppressions in the colonial countries. For the support of the colonial struggles for freedom.

XII:

THE INNER-PARTY REGIME.

The Communist Opposition fights the present inner-party regime in the CI and its sections. It fights against the replacement of democratic centralism by bureaucratic centralism.

The Communist Opposition demands of the Communist International:

1. The extension of the right (existing in the statutes but not in fact) of criticism-which today exists only for the leaders of the CI.

2. The preparation of important decisions of the CI through international discussions.

3. The abandonment of the mechanical transference of the points of view and inner-party differences in the C.P.S.U. to the other sections and of the considerations of the questions of the individual sections primarily from the point of view of the differences in the CPSU.

The questions of the individual sections must be examined, estimated and decided from the viewpoint of the special conditions of the class struggle in the individual countries.

4. The replacement of the actual monopoly of the CPSU in the leadership of the Comintern by a real collective and at the same time, united and centralized leadership based upon the Party representatives who are in the position to pass upon their own judgment upon the class relations in their own countries and who are not merely officials of the international leadership but actually trusted representatives of their sections.

5. The legal sections of the Comintern must raise their own means for regular Party work. International financial support shall be given a) to illegal Parties; b) to legal parties for special campaigns and for the production and distribution of international propaganda literature.

6. The International leadership shall have as its tasks; a) the leading of international actions; b) the working out of general tactical lines; c) the supervision and control of the carrying through of the fundamental principles as well as of the general tactical line by the individual sections. The international leadership cannot replace the leaderships of the sections. The international leadership should lead but not hold in apron-strings.

7. The withdrawal of all expulsions against opponents of the ultra-left course.

XIII

THE PARTIES.

In the sections of the Comintern the International Communist Opposition demands:

1. In legal times the election of functionaries through the membership.
2. The election of Party Congress delegates and the delegates to the international congresses through the membership after a foregoing discussion.
3. The right of discussion of all Party questions within the bounds of the Communist fundamentals and discipline of actions.
4. The removal of all corrupt elements from the Party apparatus.

XIV

AGAINST TROTSKYISM

The International Communist Opposition fights Trotskyism because of its fundamental deviations from the Communist standpoint and because of its false tactical position. The basic deviation of Trotskyism manifests itself in the complete or partial denial of the character of the Soviet Union as a proletarian state in which Socialism is being built.

In respect to tactics Trotskyism shares the ultra-left viewpoint in a whole series of questions.

XV

Before the Communist International and its sections there stands the alternative: either, with the unrestrained continuation of the ultra-left course, complete destruction as a mass organization outside the Soviet Union, or thru the basic correction of this line, the reestablishment of the unity of the Communist Party and the continuation, on the basis of the tactical teachings of Lenin, of the now interrupted progress to the victory of the world revolution.

XVI

THE COLONIAL QUESTION

On the colonial question the Communist Opposition stands on the basis of the ^u Congress of the Communist International. Therefore, it fights the ultra-left deviations in the Comintern on this question.

THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Resolution of the International Conference of the Communist Opposition held in Berlin July, 1932.

1. The organizations affiliated to the International Union of the Communist Opposition comprise an international ally organized tactical tendency of Communism, which arose in the struggle against the ultra-left course of the Comintern and its sections. The basic aim of the I.C.O. is to overcome the ultra-left course in the C.I. and in its sections, in the political, organizational and inner-party fields, and to replace it by really Leninist tactics, i.e., by the correct application of the fundamentals and aims of Communism to the international class struggle of the proletariat and of the other oppressed and exploited classes.

An extremely effective means for the achievement of this end is for the International Communist Opposition to win a broad mass influence. By winning the support of masses of workers not belonging to the Communist Party, we are creating a broader basis for winning the non-Communist masses for our aims, for Communism.

Reflecting the conditions under which they work, the organizations of the I.C.O. can be divided into three main types; (a) Where the organization of the I.C.O. is the Communist Party, as in Sweden; here our task is to extend our role as the party of Communism to liquidate the existing split organizations of the Comintern and finally to bring it about that in the respective country only one Communist Party should exist. (b) In countries, such as Germany and the United States, where the organization of the I.C.O. is only a group; here our task is to win the Communist Party but also to take over the role of the Communist Party in every case and in every question possible. (c) In countries, such as India, where the official section of the C.I. exists only on paper; here our task is to build up a real Communist Party on the basis of the tactical fundamentals of the I.C.O.

The Communist Opposition clearly understands that in any single country only one Communist Party must exist. The official bodies of the C.I. are splitting the Communist movement. The Communist Opposition desires to reestablish unity of the Communist International and to strengthen it.

The organizations affiliated to the I.C.O. stand on the basis of the principles developed by Marx and Lenin, that is, on the basis of the section on fundamentals of the program of the Communist International, as well as on the basis of the tactical and organizational decisions of the first three congresses of the Communist International.

2. The decisive aims of the struggle of the I.C.O. are:

1. ON THE POLITICAL FIELD

(a) The reapplication of the tactics of the united front, which have been abandoned in fact by the ultra-left course. The sphere of the tactic of the united front is the leadership of the daily struggles of the working class and the bringing of the whole class

to the struggle for power. The tactics of the united front demand the combination of an appeal to the members of the lower organizations with an appeal to the district and central leaderships of the reformist centrist and, in various circumstances, Christian labor organizations. The application of the tactics of the united front requires the setting up of such partial demands and revolutionary transition slogans, corresponding to the necessities and the understanding of the working class at the particular moment, it requires the spread of these slogans, worked out with the greatest care, among the masses of the proletariat and the toiling people. The agitation and propaganda of slogans of action must always be connected up with the propaganda of the fundamental aims of Communism. The objective of tactics of the united front is to break the ideological, political and ultimately, organizational hold of reformism, etc., over the workers and to win them for Communism on the basis of their experiences of struggle.

Communist leadership of united front actions cannot be placed as the prerequisite or condition for such actions but must be the result of correct and carefully planned Communist direction in struggle. The tactics of the united front do not aim to set up permanent alliances between Communist and non-Communist organizations, nor to fuse them organizationally; they aim to set up alliances of struggle for concrete, temporary purposes. The tactics of the united front demand, for the Communist organizations, the full possibility of defending their fundamental principles and of criticizing within the bounds of the discipline of action. These tactics, as a means of winning the majority of the working class in the struggle for Communism reach their limit as soon as this aim is achieved. They are an indispensable means of drawing the majority of the working class into the struggle for power and of making the influence of Communism decisive among the workers. The struggle for power itself presupposes that these results have already been achieved. It (the struggle for power), therefore, falls outside the bounds of the united front tactics but bases itself on their results..

(b) The liquidation of the ultra-left trade union course of the C.I. of the R.I.L.U., and of their sections, i.e., the course involving the creation of "revolutionary" trade unions outside of and against the already existing reformist and other mass organizations, the immediate leadership of economic struggles by the C.P., the setting up, in the trade unions, of dual strike leaderships embracing only a section of workers involved in the struggle, etc. The ultra-left trade union course must give way to the struggle for the winning of the reformist and other organizations to the revolutionary struggle, of the working class for power, for the triumph of Communism. In order that this may be achieved Communist fractions must be organized under the leadership of the Party and its organs.

The already organized "Red" unions must, after an open and complete abandonment of the policy of splitting the trade unions by the C.P., fight for their admission into the mass unions. The Party must at the same time urge and organize, on the basis of the slogans of the revolutionary class struggle on the trade union field, the entrance of all those ready to fight for the revolutionization of the trade unions into the trade unions, for the purpose of strengthening them organizationally, defending them against all reactionary attacks and reestablishing and defending their unit

(c) The same holds good for the tactics of the Communist Party in all other proletarian mass organizations.

(d) The abandonment of the false and dangerous "theory" of "social-fascism", which is only a ~~pseudo~~-Marxist repetition of the liberal theory of Fascism, according to which Fascism cannot suppress the traditional bourgeois parties, including also the reformist parties, but must always constitute an auxiliary for them. The theory of "social-fascism" is able only to prevent any real analysis of Fascism and of Social-Democracy and to weaken the recognition of the real danger of Fascism. It constitutes an obstacle in the way of winning the Social-democratic workers to Communism.

(e) The abandonment of all deviations in the direction of petty bourgeois nationalism ("national-bolshevism", etc.), of all ideological adaptations to Fascist ideology in place of a struggle against it on the basis of the Communist conception of the subordination of the national to the social struggle for the emancipation of the working class and the other sections of the toiling masses.

II. ON THE ORGANIZATIONAL FIELD

The reestablishment of democratic centralism and of inner-party democracy in the Comintern and in the sections. This includes:

(a) The conducting of discussions on disputed tactical questions with the participation of the entire membership. These discussions must be limited only by fundamentals of Communism and by the necessity of assuring discipline in action.

(b) The election of functionaries, under legal conditions, by the membership and a constant and effective control (supervision) over their activities by the membership. The complete liquidation of bureaucratic distortions of democratic centralism.

(c) The active leadership of the C.I. and its sections on the basis of collective collaboration of the representatives of all sections in the Executive of the Comintern and in its organs.

Already in March 1930 the German Communist Opposition (and other organizations of the I.C.O.) addressed an Open Letter to the Comintern in which it was declared:

"The C.I. finds itself in a crisis threatening its existence, making it incapable of fulfilling its historical tasks."

And further:

"The danger is threatening that the Communist Party will be completely destroyed as political mass factors in their countries, that nothing will remain of them except sects, Party apparatus stagnating outside of the working class."

Subsequent development has not only fully confirmed the correctness of this estimation but has even sharpened to an extraordinary degree these dangers.

In order to overcome these dangers and to provide the conditions for a victorious struggle of the revolutionary class, the C.P.G.O. at that time, placed the following demands:

The immediate withdrawal of all expulsions and disciplinary measures against the opponents of the ultra-left course.

An immediate international discussion on the basis of democratic centralism for the purpose of working out the political course of the Communist International.

The new election of Party leaderships and Party functionaries, including the Executive of the C.I. on the basis of this discussion.

The carrying out of the fundamental idea that the sections of the C.I. are bound, under legal conditions, to raise the necessary means for their regular work out of the contributions of their members.

Subsequent developments have only emphasized the indispensability of these demands.

3. The I.C.O. rejects the attempt to look upon the theory of "socialism in one country" (concretely, the affirmation of the possibility of building up socialism in the Soviet Union before the victory of the proletarian revolution in other countries) as the source of the ultra-left course in the C.I. It rejects, likewise, the attempt to find this source in a necessary contradiction between the interests of the Soviet Union and those of the international proletariat; on the contrary, it is of the opinion that the interests of the first country in which the working class rules and in which socialism is being built, coincide fundamentally and are in complete harmony with the interests of the struggle for the emancipation of the working class and the other sections of the toiling people in the rest of the world. It is the duty of every Communist to defend against all attacks of the counter-revolution the Soviet Union as a workers state upon a socialist foundation as the bulwark of the proletarian revolution.

Altho the interests of the Soviet Union and those of the world revolution coincide fundamentally, it is nevertheless quite possible that methods and forms of struggle in countries in which the working class has not yet achieved power should not coincide with those in which this has already been accomplished. The application of the fundamentals and aims of Communism as well as of tactical and organizational fundamentals must be adapted to the concrete relations of the class struggle in the various countries.

The real basic source of the ultra-left course is seen by the I.C.O. in the false transference of the methods and forms of struggle corresponding to a country in which the working class has already triumphed and in which socialism is being built, to the Communist Parties of those countries in which the majority of the working class has still to be won and the prerequisites for taking up the struggle for power have still to be created. This false transference is accompanied by the destruction of the possibility of properly evaluating and turning to account the experiences of the Communist Parties outside the Soviet Union. A further cause is the mechanical transference of the factional struggles within the C.P. S.U. to the Comintern and its sections.

The basis of all this is the monopoly of leadership of the C.P.S.U. in the Comintern. Until Lenin's death, this was still a positive factor; it has now, however, become outlived because the gap between the tasks of the C.P.S.U. (the tasks of socialist construction) and the tasks of the other sections of the Comintern (the tasks of the preparation and the carrying thru of the struggle for power), has been continually growing, especially in recent years in view of much

greater tempo of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. as compared with the advance of the revolution in capitalist countries. For these

reasons the monopoly of leadership must be abolished and there must be created a collective leadership for the Communist International which will direct the forces of the revolution of the whole world (the victorious workers of the Soviet Union and the still oppressed workers of the rest of the world) according to uniform fundamentals but with consideration for the special conditions of their activity.

The I.C.O. therefore, sees in the ultra-left tactics of the Comintern, not the inevitable and permanent effect of an alleged contradiction between the interests of the Soviet Union and of the proletarian revolution in other countries, but rather the effect of a temporary but serious failure, on the part of the leadership of the C.P.S.U., to understand the tactical necessities of the Communist movement outside of the Soviet Union.

4. The I.C.O. and its sections did not separate voluntarily from the C.I. and its sections but were expelled in violation of democratic centralism and inner-Party democracy because they refused to surrender their Communist right of criticizing the ultra-left course.

The I.C.O. fights for the rehabilitation of the C.I. and of its sections. The basic condition for this is the reestablishment of inner-Party democracy and of democratic centralism in the individual sections of the C.I. and the Comintern as a whole.

The I.C.O. recognizes that the reestablishment of inner-Party democracy and of democratic centralism (as they are given in the demands of the March 1930 Open letter of the C.P.G.O.) is only a part of the liquidation of the ultra-left course. It, however, regards the reestablishment of normal Party life as sufficient to allow it to work, within the C.P. and in the limits of Communist discipline, for the complete and open liquidation of the ultra-left course which would make this liquidation possible at minimum cost and damage to the Party and would stimulate the quickest and most extensive reestablishment of the Party, today so badly damaged by the ultra-left course and the leadership responsible for it.

The rehabilitation of the Communist International demands, from a positive viewpoint, that the leadership of the Comintern develop its activities within the following limits:

(a) To assure the maintenance of Communist fundamentals in the Comintern and in all its sections.

(b) To organize international actions and campaigns.

(c) To coordinate the activities of the various sections.

In the working out of specific questions in the individual countries the important and most decisive role must fall to the parties of these countries themselves. However, the highest and final decision in these questions belongs to the leadership of the Communist International. It must take care that, in the settlement of these questions, the Communist fundamentals and the tactical principles are maintained. But on the other hand, the leadership of the Comintern must not replace the leaderships of the individual sections.

6. The I.C.O. and its affiliated organizations reject the manœuvres of the leading bodies of the C.I. and of its sections, having for their object to play off individual national organizations of the I.C.O., local groups and single members against each other by calling upon them to rejoin the Party. With such manœuvres the Party leaders show that they do not themselves take seriously their accusations against the Communist Opposition and recognize that the latter has

not left the basis of Communist principles.

On the other hand, however, the I.C.O. greets the increasingly frequent honest desires of the members of the C.I. for the readmission of the Opposition; it emphasizes the necessity for the members who honestly desire this to take a stand for it in the C.I. and the CP. The Communist Opposition, which has carried on a four year struggle for the liquidation of the ultra-left course, is conscious of the fact that it has rendered the Communist movement an indispensable service. It declares that its criticism and action, carried out in bitter struggle and under greatest difficulties, have already had and are now having deep-going and wholesome effects in the C.P. and the C.I., as well as in the labor movement generally. It declares that its estimation of the effects of the ultra-left course has been fully justified by the facts and, in a number of cases, has even been recognized by the leading committees, even if these latter have hitherto been either unwilling or unable to recognize the ultra-left course as the cause of the trouble and to remove this cause. On the basis of these facts the Communist Opposition is confident that it will finally overcome all difficulties and emerge victorious. But this victory can only be achieved thru the active intervention of the Party members who will draw the necessary lessons from the negative experiences. It is for this cooperation that the Communist Opposition appeals above all.

7. The Communist Opposition declares to the leadership of the C.I. that, in face of the extremely acute danger of a Fascist seizure of power in Germany as well as of an intervention war against the Soviet Union, no time must be lost in giving up completely and openly the ultra-left course, thereby creating the decisive and indispensable prerequisite for the C.I. and the C.P. winning leadership of the working class for the overthrow of Fascism, for the achievement of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, and for the defense of the Soviet Union and thereby also bringing about a revival of the declining labor movement outside of the Soviet Union, a consequence of the ultra-left course.

In order to achieve the aim of Communism, the consolidation of the working class of the whole world for the overthrow of the bourgeois State, for the destruction of the capitalist system, and for the construction of a socialist order of society, the organizations of the I.C.O. have always been and are now ready to stretch out a hand to reestablish the unity of the Communist movement under the above mentioned indispensable conditions, which alone assure the elaboration of correct Communist tactics on the basis of the collective experience and the collaboration of all sections of the C.I. and which alone provides for the rapid correction of the tactical mistakes thru the participation of the membership.

It is for this cooperation that the Communist Opposition appeals above all.

7. The Communist Opposition declares to the leadership of the C.I. that, in face of the extremely acute danger of a Fascist seizure of power in Germany as well as of an intervention war against the

ON OUR RELATIONS TO CENTRISM.

Resolution of the International Conference

~~To publish~~ below the resolution, "On the Relation to Centrism," adopted at the second International Conference held in Berlin in July 1932.

Since the international conference of the Communist Opposition at the end of 1930, the world crisis of capitalism has passed through certain significant new phases. First of all, it has been extended to include all bourgeois countries without exception. Secondly, it has been deepening seriously at an almost constantly accelerating pace, particularly in the most highly developed industrial countries (U. S., Germany, England). Thirdly, it is rapidly undermining the entire credit structure of international capitalism. Finally, the extension and the continued intensification of the world crisis have brought about a spirit of despair among large sections of the toiling masses and a spirit of helplessness as to a way out among the dominating forces of the international bourgeoisie. The sweep and intensity of the world-wide economic crisis alongside of the rapid growth of socialist construction in the USSR, have brought every walk of life, thought and action in the bourgeois world in deepgoing crisis.

It is against this background of world economic crisis that the recent developments of the international labor movement stand out in bold relief. The stress of the crisis has sharpened both elements of the contradiction tearing Social-democracy from within. It has strengthened the dissatisfaction of broad strata of the proletarian membership of the Social-democratic parties but it has also brought out in more open, more developed and more extensive form the bourgeois course of the Social-democratic leaders in aiding to save and rehabilitate broken-down capitalism. In this way the Social-democracy of the whole world has fallen into a profound crisis.

The tactical and organization bankruptcy of the Comintern has brought it about that this mass dissatisfaction of the Social-democratic workers has not led to a mass rebellion against reformism and to a mass movement into the camp of Communism. Instead of this it has proved possible for the centrist wing of reformism to hold a part of the dissatisfied Social-democratic working masses for itself. The present strengthening of centrism thru the creation of new centrist parties, however insignificant these parties may be, might have been avoided had the Comintern followed a correct policy in this field.

1. The centrist parties (Socialist Workers Party in Germany; the Proletarian Unity Party, P. U. P., in France; the Independent Labor Party in England; the Norwegian Labor Party, the Independent Social-Democratic party of Holland; the Conference For Progressive Labor Action in the United States, etc.) stand on the basis of reformism in regard to the basic questions of the struggle of the working class. This applies to their attitude on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, since the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat without the recognition of the Soviet form of this dictatorship, without the recognition of the leading role of the Communist Party in fighting for and defending this dictatorship, without clarity as to the role of force before and after the establishment of this dictatorship (armed uprising, terror), is worthless. This applies also to the attitude of the centrists on the Soviet Union, for here, too, solidarity is merely a phrase if the proletarian character of the State in the Soviet Union, if the Socialist character of the already collectivized branches of its economy (administered by

the State or by cooperatives) and if the international significance of the fundamental features of the Russian revolution, are denied. Finally, the centrists oppose the fundamentals of Communism in organizational questions. They deny the necessity of an organizational break even with the open reformists, with the open adherence of the bourgeois state in the labor movement; they deny the necessity of strong centralization and revolutionary discipline but, on the contrary, defend the slogan of "freedom of opinion" for the representatives of all reformist, i.e., petty bourgeois and bourgeois, ideas.

2. Whereas the International Communist Opposition raises the slogan of reform in regard to the Communist Parties, with which it shares common fundamental principles and from which it is separated only by tactical differences, in regard to the centrist parties, on the other hand, which, in their basic conceptions, are a part of reformism the slogan must be the destruction of these organizations, i.e., the elimination of their influence among the workers, the winning of the workers in them to break organizationally with the open and disguised reformist elements, to join the Communist organizations.

We want to win the Communist Parties for the ideas of the Communist Opposition; but the centrist parties as a whole, as organizations, cannot be won for Communism. The winning of the workers in the centrist parties for Communism cannot take place except through their organizational break with the centrist leaders, i.e., through the breaking of the organizational unity of the centrist parties.

The winning of the workers in the centrist parties for Communism requires a long continued, basic criticism of the centrist policy from the Communist standpoint and, in closest connection therewith, the application of the united front tactics towards the centrist parties, in order to convince the members of these parties, on the basis of the experiences of joint struggle, of the inadequacies of the policies of their leadership, of their inability to fulfill their big promises to carry out a consistent, really revolutionary course.

It is furthermore ^{necessary} to stimulate the development of a Communist wing in the centrist parties standing for the fundamentals of Communism in word and deed and taking the position of affiliation to the Communist organizations. It is necessary to support this wing in the struggle against the centrist and the open reformist elements.

3. A union or a permanent organizational connection (block, collective work) between the Communist Opposition and the centrist organizations is permissible neither internationally or nationally, since such a union or connection is possible only on the basis of fundamental agreement. With the centrist organizations, as a whole, only agreements from time to time on actions for concrete partial aims are permissible in line with the Leninist tactics of the united front. Such united front actions should be undertaken nationally as well as internationally.



ON OUR RELATIONS TO TROTSKYISM

Resolution of the International Conference

We publish below the resolution, "On the Relation of the International Communist Opposition to Trotskyism," adopted at the second International Conference held in Berlin in July 1932.

The Trotskyites, who call themselves "left Communists" and claim to fight for the reform of the Communist International, have in reality left the fundamental basis of Communism in essential points and today continue the tradition of pre-war Trotskyism, which, as is well known, adopted a centrist position in the struggle between the Communist (Bolshevik) and reformist (Menshevik) tendencies in the Russian Social-democracy.

(a) The Trotskyites deny the socialist character of the present Soviet economy (see Trotsky's "Draft of a Platform of the International Left Opposition on the Russian Question", point 28). It also denies the possibility that the Russian proletariat, if it is spared an attack of the imperialists, will be able to realize the aims set up in the second Five-Year plan, namely, the elimination of the remnants of the capitalist elements in the Soviet Union, the abolition of classes and therewith the completion of socialist construction in its main features. They maintain that the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union is not in a position, through its own forces, without the victory of the proletarian revolution in other countries, to overcome the capitalist elements within its own land; on the contrary, they maintain that under such conditions the victory of the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union becomes unavoidable at a certain point, i.e., that the activity of the proletarian dictatorship strengthens the elements of the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union. The Trotskyites deny in fact, whatever they may say in words, the character of the Soviet Union as a proletarian dictatorship by maintaining that this state is no longer led by a Communist Party but by a bureaucratic apparatus which has suppressed the Party and the Soviets and which is the bearer of counter-revolutionary, bonapartist tendencies. This attitude of the Trotskyites to the Soviet Union agrees in essential and fundamental points with the Social-democratic viewpoint.

(b) As against the Communist International the Trotskyites maintain that it has departed from the fundamental basis of Communism because it proclaims the possibility that the proletarian dictatorship can, in a single country, insofar as it is not disturbed by the international counter-revolution, eliminate the capitalist elements, abolish classes, i.e., complete the building of socialism through establishing, in its fundamentals, a classless socialist society. As to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leading party of the Soviet State, the Trotskyites maintain that it does not exist any longer and has been replaced by the bureaucratic apparatus. From this viewpoint, it is mere deceit when the Trotskyites declare that they are fighting for the reform of the Communist International and its sections; the effect of their agitation, in which they declare that the Communist International has surrendered the fundamentals of Communism and that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is only the fiction of a party, can be one only, namely, to spur on the Communist workers to break with the Communist International and its sections, because these latter are fundamentally bankrupt and hopeless, and thus to bring disintegration into the ranks of Communism.

Were the Trotskyites logical, then they would have to demand the creation of new Communist Parties and a new Communist International in place of those existing today, which, in their conception, have departed from the fundamental line of Communism, i.e., are no longer Communists. At any rate, the position of the Trotskyites shows that they are quite clear themselves that they are standing upon a different basis of principles than that upon which rests the Communist International.

(c) That the basic position of Trotskyism is nothing but a Communist mask for reformist ideas is shown clearly in its relations to the centrist organizations. In his recent work, "What Now?" Trotsky stands forth as the champion of the centrist Socialist Workers Party of Germany against the Communist criticism of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition); he has approved the conduct of Walcher and Froelich, who left the Opposition for the Socialist Workers Party and landed there in the right wing. On its side, the Socialist Workers Party, at its congress, incorporated into its programmatic declaration of principles the Trotskyite theory of the impossibility of the completion of socialist construction in one country and therewith sought to find a basis for its anti-Communist policy. As formerly the leaders of Austro-Marxism, so today, Trotsky is the international idea-provider of centrism.

For these reasons, a propaganda of the ideas of Trotskyism is impermissible in the ranks of the International Communist Opposition. The International Communist Opposition carries on a basic struggle against Trotskyism.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

ON THE UNITED FRONT.

The following thesis on the united front was adopted by the International Communist Opposition in March, 1933 upon the occasion of the declaration by the Communist International for a united front after Hitler assumed the chancellorship of Germany.

1. The purpose of the proletarian united front must be the common struggle of the masses of the Social democratic and Communist workers in defense of their rights and interests against capital, against the bourgeois state and the capitalist employers.

For the organization of this common struggle of the masses it is necessary that the Communist and Social-democratic parties, in spite of their differences in principle, reach agreements for the execution of common actions for definite demands. These common actions must be of an extra-parliamentary character (meetings, demonstrations, strike, etc.), because only in this way can the broad masses of the workers be really mobilized and set into motion, because only in this way can real improvements in the conditions of the workers be won from capitalism. Joint parliamentary actions can only be an auxiliary to the extra-parliamentary struggle.

The Purpose of the United Front.

2. The purpose of the international agreements on the proletarian united front must be the carrying thru of common actions in the individual countries. International "decisions of struggle," formed without the simultaneous initiation of common struggles of all workers in the individual countries on the most burning issues, would be a deception of the masses. Such decisions would necessarily be condemned to remain on paper.

3. Agreements between leading committees are a means for the setting up of the proletarian united front but are not enough in themselves for that purpose; rather must the workers and their organizations everywhere enter into relations and create organs of the united front everywhere in the individual factories and localities. In agreements reached between leading committees there must be provided for the creation of organs of the united front.

The Objects of the United Front.

4. As the objects of various united fronts on a national and international scale, we propose:

a. Struggle against the offensive of capital, against unemployment; international coordination and support of the struggles of the workers of the individual countries against the offensive of capital.

b. International struggle against Fascism is today the most pressing task; united struggle of the German workers against the Hitler terror. International support of the Italian, German and other workers, groaning under the yoke of Fascism. Sharpest Struggle against Fascist tendencies in the countries still under bourgeois democracy.

c. Struggle against imperialist war in the Far East against

the danger of a new imperialist world war, for the defense of the Soviet Union. Rejection of all military credits in bourgeois states. Joint demonstrations against imperialist war preparations and war mongering. Actions to prevent the export of munitions for the purpose of imperialist war.

d. International struggle against the imperialist peace treaties, against the imperialist debt agreements, for the right of self-determination of the oppressed peoples.

The Comintern and the United Front.

5. The ICO declares that the leaders of the Communist International, who have rejected the method of the united front for so many years and have attacked the Communist Opposition in the sharpest manner because it defended the policy of the proletarian united front, have now taken a step in the direction of the united front tactics in their answer to the proposals of the Socialist International, but only after the victory of Fascism in Germany had given fearful proof of the harmfulness of the ultra-left rejection of these tactics.

From the standpoint of Communism we regard it as impermissible for the Executive of the Communist International to declare itself ready to accept, under certain circumstances, the "non-aggression pact" of Social-democrats and Communists proposed by the Socialist International. Common actions of the Social-democrats and the Communists are possible only if both sides have full freedom to present their fundamental principles, and this signifies mutual criticism within the limits of the discipline of action necessary to carry out what has been decided. A "non-aggression pact", however, would signify that the Communists were ready to give up the maintenance of their fundamental principles. These fundamental principles demand of the Communists that they, everywhere and at all times, strive to convince the working masses of the necessity of struggle against the bourgeois state and for the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship. A part of this enlightenment activity is the constant criticism and refutation of the Social-democratic conception that the working class can achieve its emancipation within the framework of the parliamentary-democratic bourgeois state. The Communists must, therefore, never cease for an instant their struggle of principle against the Social-democracy. The proposal of a "non-aggression pact" is nothing but a maneuver of the Social-democracy with which to hide its opposition to any joint struggle of the masses. It is the task of the Communists to enlighten the Social-democratic workers as to the character of these manoeuvres and not to be let themselves be misled by these very same manoeuvres.

The I.C.O. and the United Front.

6. The ICO calls upon the Social-democratic and Communist workers to have their leading committees realize the proletarian united front. In order to effect this and to create the practical beginnings of the proletarian united front, united front bodies should immediately be set up everywhere in the individual factories, localities, districts and regions, etc., and organized actions initiated as far as possible.

7. In view of the triumph of Fascism in Germany and the war of extermination of the Fascist dictatorship against all proletarian organizations, in view further of the growing danger of imperialist war, the ICO considers as urgently necessary the immediate convoca-

tion of a conference of the decisive international and national organizations of the workers parties for the establishment of the proletarian united front on an international and national scale. At such a conference, the ICO will defend the conceptions outlined above.

PRESENT SITUATION AND TASKS OF THE I.C.O.

Resolution of the International Communist Opposition.

In July 1933 there took place an enlarged session of the Buro of the International Communist Opposition. At this session there were present representatives of the Communist Opposition groups in Germany, France, Holland, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia and the United States of America. The Swedish and the Norwegian organizations affiliated to the I.C.O. were not present.

After reports on the political situation, the situation in the Communist International and in the Soviet Union and the conditions in Hitler Germany, as well as after reports from the other countries, there took place a serious and comradely discussion in the course of which a stand was taken on the great tasks facing the Communist and labor movements today.

Special place in the discussion was given to the events in Germany and the lessons for the Communists of all countries arising therefrom. The session expressed the belief that the victory of Fascism in Germany, the reformism of the S.P.G. was decisively responsible but also the ultra-left course of the C.P.G. and the C.I. Both reformism and ultra-leftism are bankrupt, while the events in Germany confirm the standpoint of the Communist Opposition and justify its long struggle against ultra-left sectarianism.

Rejecting most firmly the attempt to revive reformism in its centrist form, and particularly the efforts of the S.W.P. (Socialist Workers Party), the Trotskyites and other centrist groups to create new "Communist" parties and a new centrist International, the session of the I.C.O. showed the way, thru its decisions, to the rehabilitation of the labor movement.

In the political resolution, which we publish below, the I.C.O. has again and most decisively, taken its stand on the basis of Communist fundamentals. On this ground it will continue to carry on its struggle for the rebuilding of the C.P.G. and for the rehabilitation of the C.I.--: it will at the same time firmly oppose all vacillations in its own ranks because these vacillations can only make the road of the proletariat to emancipation more difficult and more painful.

On the basis of this standpoint the conference directed a letter to the Communist Party of Sweden; it also adopted a resolution on the question of the boycott of Hitler Germany.

The Bankruptcy of Reformism.

I.

1. The victory of Fascism in Germany is an alarm signal for the entire international working class. The German events have shown that Fascism is no peculiarity of backward agrarian countries but is a general, international tendency of the bourgeois state in the period of the decline of capitalism. They have shown that bourgeois democracy is no defense of the rights of the workers but that it rather creates the conditions for the growth of Fascism. Under bourgeois democracy, as under any other form of the rule of capital

the state apparatus is an instrument for the defense of capitalist private property and capitalist profits. Once the profit interests of the bourgeoisie call for the destruction of the democratic rights of the working masses, this state apparatus becomes the trail-blazer for Fascism and, in the end, its tool; it cannot, therefore, be any sort of effective instrument in the struggle against Fascism. The fight against Fascism must be conducted as a fight against this state apparatus, against the rule of capital in any form.

The entire international working class stands before the historical alternative: Fascism or Communism! Dictatorship of the Fascist murder-bands or the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat! Only if they use all methods of extra-parliamentary mass action in the struggle against the bourgeois state and for the establishment of the Soviet dictatorship, can the workers of the still remaining bourgeois-democratic countries escape the fate of their class in Germany and Italy.

Only in the struggle for the establishment of the Soviet dictatorship can the Fascist dictatorships in Germany, Italy and Poland be overthrown.

2. The German events have exposed the complete bankruptcy of reformism in principle and practice. The "democratic road" of the working class to political power and to socialism has disclosed itself as the road to Fascist slavery. In spite of its claims Social-democracy has not saved the German workers from the sacrifice of civil war but has surrendered them defenseless to the Fascist butchers. The German working class must now make more sacrifices and suffer more hardships than the Russian workers did in the civil wars, without making the same tremendous gains. Thru its policy of coalition and toleration, thru its policy of the lesser evil, the German Social-democracy hindered the formation of united extra-parliamentary resistance of the workers against Fascism. As a consequence of its policy of supporting the capitalist state in the form of bourgeois democracy, as a consequence also of its policy of supporting the "national economy", i.e., the capitalist economy, Social-democracy sabotaged every extra-parliamentary action of the broad masses, since every such action might be transformed into an attack on the rule of capital in general. Social-democracy bears the chief blame for the victory of Fascism in Germany, as was the case also in Italy and Poland. It is necessary to make the workers of all countries understand that reformist policy opens the way for Fascism, that the influence of reformism in the labor movement must be fought most sharply if the victory of Fascism in the non-Fascist countries is to be avoided. It is further necessary to explain that any reestablishment of bourgeois democracy following the collapse of Fascism in Germany, Italy, etc., would be simply a breathing spell for the Fascist counter-revolution enabling it to regather its forces.

The Refutation of Ultra-Leftism

II

3. The German events constitute an annihilating judgment of the fundamental attitude of reformism; they confirm the Communist position. The German events show in practice that there is no other road to socialism than that which the Russian workers have taken.

But the German experience is at the same time the practical refutation of the false tactics of the C.P.G. and the C.I. and the evidence of their incapacity to carry the Communist fundamentals to victory. As a consequence of its false tactics, the C.P.G. was not in a position to utilize the objectively revolutionary situation present in Germany; it was incapable of preventing the Social-democracy from sabotaging the struggle of the workers against the capitalist offensive and Fascism.; it was incapable of organizing extensive and firm revolutionary mass actions of the proletariat, the weight of which might have attracted to the side of the workers the desperate petty bourgeois masses following Fascism. As the 1923 German experiences show, the Communist Party, may be in a position to prevent the victory of Fascism even when it is not able itself to set up a proletarian dictatorship; this it can do thru the development of revolutionary mass actions, embracing strata of reformist workers, influencing the petty bourgeoisie and isolating Fascism. But such mass actions, must be organized and led in sharpest opposition to the bourgeois state in general and from the point of view of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only thru such revolutionary mass action can the petty bourgeois masses, ruined by the decline of capitalism, be prevented from falling victims to Fascist demagogy.

The false tactics of the C.I. and C.P.G. have had the most disastrous consequences. Only because of these false tactics was it possible for reformism to hold back the masses from struggle and thus enable Fascism to attain power.

The Confirmation of C.P.O. Line

4. Developments in Germany have confirmed the political outlook of the C.P.G.*O. on all points and have shown that it is the politically clearest and firmest nucleus of the Communist movement in Germany.

5. The resistance of the leadership of the C.P.G. and the C.I. to open and full criticism and to liquidation of its mistakes committed before the establishment of the Fascist dictatorship, its contention that the tactics of the C.P.G. in recent years have been entirely correct will have the effect of crippling the struggle of the Communists against the Fascist dictatorship and against the growing Fascist menace in the bourgeois-democratic countries. The partial corrections that the Executive of the C.I. has made under the pressure of events in Germany must remain ineffective under these circumstances and add to the confusion. Thus the united front tactics, i.e., offers to the leadership of the reformist organizations, are again permitted by the C.I. but at the same time the completely bankrupt theory of "social-fascism" is retained and, what represents an opportunist deviation, there is readiness to conclude "non-aggression pacts" with the reformists, to abstain from basic criticism of reformism.

6. The conduct of the leadership of the C.I., after the victory of Fascism in Germany, has again shown that an extensive and basic correction of the tactical mistakes of the sections of the C.I. in the capitalist countries cannot be accomplished from above but only from below, that is, thru the activity of the Communist Opposition rallying the members of the Communist parties around itself in order to reestablish freedom of criticism within the bounds of Communist

fundamentals, to reestablish democratic centralism and to replace the monopoly of leadership in the C.P.S.U. in the C.I. by a strong leadership representative of the entire International. Only thru the struggle of the Communist opposition to win the C.I. and its sections for a correct Communist policy can Communist parties be created as really bolshevist organizations, i.e., parties which are in a position to lead the masses of Workers in their countries thru all difficulties to victorious revolution.

7. The I.C.O. takes a stand most sharply against the Centrist and Trotskyist organizations and groups, which are now attempting to set up in Germany a new, allegedly Communist Party, in reality a Centrist-liquidatory party, and a new International in opposition to the CI and the Soviet Union.

The I.C.O. confirms its resolutions adopted, last year on the relation to the Centrist organizations and to Trotskyism, in which it was declared that the Trotskyites do not represent a tendency within Communism but are a group which has broken with the fundamentals of Communism thru their attitude to the Soviet Union. The Trotskyites challenge in fact the character of the Soviet State as a proletarian dictatorship; they maintain that in the Soviet Union there reigns a bureaucratic caste with special interests opposed to those of the proletariat; they deny the Socialist character of the state, and cooperative (collective) enterprises in the Soviet Union. Only he who endorses and supports the first proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union without any reservations can really fight for the proletarian dictatorship. The standpoint of Trotskyism therefore signifies a break with Communist fundamentals.

The declaration of the Trotskyites that the CPG has met its August 4th, that it has surrendered the Communist principles and has betrayed the working class, is an impermissible exaggeration to provide the excuse for the formation of a new, allegedly Communist Party with other principles than those of the CI, i.e., on an anti-Communist, Centrist-Reformist basis. All of the organizations affiliated to the ICO are obliged to fight unremittingly against the Centrists and the Trotskyites for what they are, anti-Bolshevist, hidden reformist organizations.

THE SOVIET UNION

8. Especially is it necessary to expose all attempts to attribute the tactical mistakes of the CI and the CPG and the defeat of the German working class to the alleged national interest of the Soviet Union. The assertion that the theory of Socialist construction in one country has made the Russian Communists sacrifice the interests of the workers of other countries, must be branded as dangerous anti-Bolshevism. The false tactics of the CPSU in questions of the CI stand in contradiction to the real interests of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union and, precisely in the interests of creating a Socialist classless society in the Soviet Union and its safeguarding against imperialist attacks, must they be liquidated. The ICO fights to liquidate the false tactics of the CI, not, however, to oppose the policy of the CPSU in the Soviet Union.

The ICO approves and supports the policy of the CPSU which aims to create a classless Socialist society in spite of all difficulties. It opposes the hero-cult, which is being cultivated in the Soviet Union, but at the same time, rejects the Trotskyist characterization of the party regime.

The recent events in Germany show that, after the victory of the proletarian revolution, the working class here will be able to maintain power only if the Communists, the leading and organizing force of the proletarian dictatorship, assure iron firmness in their ranks.

The I.C.O. supports the consistent peace policy of the Soviet government, the aim of which is to protect the strongest bulwark of the world proletariat, the Soviet Union, from imperialist attacks; it sharply rejects all the contentions of the reformists and the Trotskyites, which brand such a policy as an aid to Fascism. The peace policy of the Soviet Union is a phase of the struggle of the international working class against the war preparations of imperialism, a struggle directed with equal force against the Fascist and the bourgeois-democratic imperialists.

9. As a tactical tendency within the international Communist movement the I.C.O. must have unconditional firmness in questions of principles and tactics. The decisions of the sessions of the I.C.O. are binding for all affiliated organizations, without infringing, of course, the freedom of criticism within the bounds of Communist fundamentals. These decisions constitute the guide for the entire political activity of these groups.

10. The I.C.O. stands for the establishment of the united front of all workers organizations against the offensive of capital, Fascism and imperialist war preparations, nationally and internationally. This united front must be set up on the basis of a definite and clear program of struggle, without, of course, compromising on basic questions and retaining full freedom of mutual criticism. The force capable of organizing such a united front against the resistance of the reformist leaders, can only be a Communist movement, uniting firmness in principle and correct tactics. The creation of a new, centrist International, of an organization opposed in principle to Communism, to the Communist International and to the Soviet Union, cannot stimulate the establishment of an international proletarian united front but can only hinder it.

The I.C.O. rejects participation in the international conference of centrist parties now being planned.

11. The I.C.O. demands the reestablishment of national and international unity of the Communist movement on the basis of the realization of democratic centralism, i.e., the right of free discussion and criticism within the bounds of Communist principles.

For Unity

12. Developments after the triumph of the Fascist dictatorship in Germany have shown that the members of the official Communist Party, under pressure of events and in spite of the resistance of the Party bureaucracy, are approaching the Communist Opposition more and more closely, are supporting its tactical views and are even following its political leadership. This practical experience shows the possibility and the correctness of the course of the I.C.O. to win the sections of the C.I. from below. It proves at the same time, that it is the I.C.O., in contrast to the bureaucracy of the C.I. and its sections, which is strengthening the Communist movement and consolidating it on the basis of correct tactics.

13. On the basis of the German experiences, the I.C.O. proposes to the C.I. and its sections the setting up of a working block, which, without wiping out tactical differences and with the retention of the full freedom of mutual criticism, can establish joint action for carrying out united front tactics, for a common struggle against reformism, centrism and Trötskyism.

The I.C.O. makes this proposal in the consciousness that, at the present time, every thing possible must be done in order to establish cooperation of all Communist forces.

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sweden.

Dear Comrades:

In your letter of July 1 (1.7) you made us the following proposition:

"We have been informed that the Union of Socialist Parties (meaning the 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ International of the Left-Socialists) intends to call a congress for August or thereabouts. We make the following concrete proposal, that all groups of the I.C.O. send representatives to this congress, which representatives should act not as a fraction but as representatives of the individual organizations and that they should try most sincerely to secure organized cooperation to the fullest extent possible. In our opinion it would be the gravest error either to remain away from this congress or to take part in it with the intention of disrupting it."

In reference to the above the Enlarged Bureau of the I.C.O., at its session of July 7-9, made the following resolution:

The I.C.O. supports and welcomes all efforts to form a united front of all working class organizations against the capitalist offensive, fascism and the imperialist preparations for another war.

The I.C.O., However, is opposed to participating in the projected conference of centrist groups and organizations, that is, the groups which are not affiliated with either the Second or Third Internationals and which reject the fundamentals of the platform of the Communist International.

The practical result of such a conference would inevitably be the preparation for the founding of a new International whose basis fundamentally could be only of a centrist, or in other words, of an anti-communist and anti-bolshevist character. Such an organization can only hinder the formation of a fighting united front of the Proletariat. The proletarian united front can be effective only if the masses of workers which follow the Second and Third Internationals cooperate in the fight against the enemy of the class. The speed with which united struggles of the entire working class can be organized depends principally on the strength, devotion to principles and the correct tactics of the communists.

The International Opposition fights for such rebuilding of the C. I. as will enable it to organize united struggles of the masses which will lay the basis for winning the majority of the working class for communism, and lead to a successful proletarian revolution. The International Opposition, however, is unalterably opposed to any attempt to establish a new International of a centrist character which would disrupt the communist movement and thus render impotent that force whose function is to be the motivating agent in the establishment of a proletarian united front.

Participation in this conference of centrist organizations and groups is therefore incompatible with the aims of the I.C.O.

This decision reiterates the views expressed in the resolutions passed by the international conferences of the International Opposition held to date, in the passing of which resolutions the representatives of your party took part. There was, in particular, the decision on the relation to centrism arrived at a year ago in the formulation of which Kilboom and Flyg participated. This resolution in part runs as follows:

"The I.C.O., being in agreement with the fundamental principles of the Communist Parties, its differences with the latter being only on tactical questions, advocates the rebuilding of the Communist Parties. Its position with respect to the centrist parties, which by virtue of their basic position are a part of reformism, is to abolish those organizations, that is, the elimination of their influence among the workers and the winning of the workers in their ranks to an organizational break with the openly or covertly reformist elements and to an affiliation to the communist organization.

"...A union or a lasting organizational agreement between the I.C.O. and centrist organizations is impossible either on a national or international scale, for such a union is possible only in case of agreement on fundamentals. Cooperation with centrist organizations can take the form only of occasional united front action, in the Leninist sense, on concrete, partial aims. Such united fronts should be formed both on a national and international scale."

The events of the past year further prove the necessity for the I.C.O. to maintain the above position. You in your letter cast doubts on the possibility of reforming the Comintern. Your opinion can be based only on the belief that the C.I. has ceased to be an organization which represents the interests of the working class. On the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, in fact, you write as follows:

"The Comintern is in fact, though not formally, an instrument of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union which does not always work in the interests of the international working class regardless of the interests of the Russian State."

Where does this position lead?

Are you of the opinion that there is in the Soviet Union a proletarian dictatorship? When you state that the interests of the Russian State, i.e., the proletarian dictatorship, are contrary to those of the international working class, then, you are saying that the proletarian dictatorship is harmful to the international labor movement. That is not a communist or a revolutionary conception but one which can be entertained only by openly reformist or centrist elements.

Or do you doubt the proletarian character of the Soviet State? That also cannot be reconciled with communist ideas. The first duty of every communist is to have complete solidarity with the first proletarian dictatorship and the support of the Soviet Union as a proletarian state.

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In the resolution passed by the July, 1932 session of the Bureau of the I.C.O., the relation of the I.C.O. to the C.I. and its sections and to the Soviet Union is stated as follows:

"The I.C.O. rejects the idea that the theory of "socialism in one country" - concretely, the affirmation of the possibility of building socialism in the Soviet Union before the proletarian revolution has succeeded in the remaining countries - is the cause of the ultra-left course of the C.I. It rejects the idea that this cause is to be found in the fact that the interests of the first country in which the working class is in power and builds socialism do not fundamentally coincide and harmonize with the interests of the struggle for freedom of the working class and of all oppressed and exploited classes in the rest of the world. It is the duty of every communist to defend the Soviet Union as a workers' state resting on a socialist foundation and as a bulwark of the proletarian revolution against all counter-revolutionary attacks."

From Trotzkyist, centrist and reformist quarters has emanated of late the charge that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, in the interest of good diplomatic relationships with Hitler's Germany, has surrendered the German working class to Fascism. Do you also make this charge? This criticism leads logically to the demand that the Soviet Union provoke a war with German imperialism, ostensibly to assist the German workers. Actually the Soviet State, if it followed this advice, would not help the German workers, but would play into the hands of the Hitlerite bandits who are busily striving to organize an imperialist war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union's consistent policy of peace is not contrary to the interests of the international working class but is a part of the struggle of the international proletariat against imperialist war preparations. Whoever attacks this policy of peace - consciously or unconsciously - lends assistance to the imperialist war makers.

But even the bankruptcy of the C.I. and the C.P.G. in the struggle against fascism in Germany, which shared in the responsibility for the heavy defeat of the German working class, is not, as Trotzky, for instance, claims, a betrayal of the working class comparable to that of which Social-Democracy was guilty on August 4. The C.P.G. has not abandoned communist principles; it did not go over to the side of the enemy. It is beaten down but not annihilated, but is even today a nucleus of class-conscious, actively-revolutionary workers, without whom a rebuilding of the communist movement in Germany would be inconceivable.

The very practical experiences of our comrades of the C.P.G.-O in Germany today show that it is absolutely possible to win over sections of the C.I. from below in the sharpest struggles against party bureaucracy. Under the influence of the events which demonstrated the tactical errors of the C.P.G. and the correctness of our tactics, the members of the C.P.G., who in spite of the severe terror continue their work, are drawing closer to our comrades, work together with them and in many places follow their political leadership.

You would have a "cooperation of all groups....which stand between the two internationals" - and in fact at the cost of concessions of principle, for you write: "This cooperation need not be predicated upon....a provocative insistence upon complete clarity of principle on all questions." You hope in this manner to win greater influence over the masses.

The very experiences in Germany in the recent past showed how powerless the strongest mass organizations are in the face of the brutal blows of capitalist reaction when they are not built upon the unperverted principles of the class struggle, namely, the principles of communism. The mighty reformist organizations of Germany were broken into bits under the blows of Fascism. Austrian Social-Democracy, which in spite of its generous use of left phrases, cannot be distinguished from the other groups with which you would cooperate, has also proved itself to be completely impotent against fascism.

In Sweden also, as your letter reveals, fascism is growing. Only a communist party which holds firmly to its principles and which, unlike the C.I., follows correct tactics, can apply these principles in practice and enlighten the masses; only such a party can become the force which will organize a fighting united front against Fascism. If you want to fight fascism effectively then you must not make any kind of concessions on principle to centrist reformism. It is just the "provocative insistence on complete clarity of principle" which enabled the C.P.G.O. to retain its entire membership (90%) while all other organizations were being destroyed.

But it is an illusion to believe that a new centrist International could gather large masses around itself in the international field.

What forces could such an International join together?

The Socialist Workers Party in Germany which claims to have a membership of 10,000, is in reality weaker than the C.P.G.-O. and even an amalgamation with the Trotzkyites, who in all Germany have only a few dozen members, will not make the S.W.P. any stronger. Among the younger active members of the S.W.P. there is a growing tendency to come closer to the Communist Party of Germany - Opposition and to break with centrism and Trotzkyite ideas.

The I.L.P. of England is also a relatively weak group. The idea of a new centrist international is entertained by the right, bourgeois-democratic and pacifist wing of the I.L.P. On the other hand, the left wing of this party advocates affiliation with the Comintern. This left group is approaching the ideology of the I.C.O.; in its ranks are represented those who believe that communist principles must be adopted but that the ultra-left tactics of the C.I. must be rejected.

That the Norwegian Labor Party is a thoroughly reformist organization you know from your own experience. The founding of a new International would strengthen the position of Tranmael with the workers in the N.L.P. who are sympathetic to communism and to the Soviet Union.

Among the forces which might be in the new International is a Russian group, the Left Social Revolutionists, who for years have been active in counter-revolutionary work.

Then there are the Trotzkyites who are allied with the Socialist Workers Party in the advocacy of the founding of a new party in Germany which could only be a centrist party. They have only little groups in all countries and in the whole world only a few hundred members. From the point of view of principle the Trotzkyites have broken with communism; they deny in fact the proletarian character of the Soviet State.

The new centrist International cannot have any other fate than that of its predecessor, the 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ International in the first years of the war. Through the rapidly sharpening class contradictions and in addition the dangers presented by fascism and the imperialist war, the new International will be crushed between Reformism and Communism even faster than was the other. If you will become affiliated with this International you will not win any support among the masses but you will ruin your own party, to the glee of the Swedish Social-Democracy and the Sillen sect affiliated to the C.I.

The dangers you run when you make concessions of principle is shown by the program of action for a "Volksfront fuer Arbeit and Brot" (Peoples Front for Work and Bread), issued by the executive committee of your party. You intend thru this program to form a broad united front against fascism. However, you will not be able to realize this aim but will unintentionally give aid to fascism, because, to embrace larger masses, you, at the sacrifice of communist principle, are making concessions to those reactionary petty bourgeois prejudices to which fascism appeals with its demagogy. Instead of a proletarian united front you advocate a "peoples front"; instead of working for the joining of all workers' organizations, you appeal to all political organizations, and thus also to the bourgeois organizations. You ask, among other things, that the unemployed industrial workers be settled upon the land as farmers; that is an old petty bourgeois idea. You ask the existing state, which is a capitalist state, to control foreign trade to guarantee export, etc. Control of foreign trade by a capitalist state means import embargoes and quotas, protective tariffs and all means of providing large capital extra profits and of lowering the standard of living of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie. In putting forward such demands you unintentionally give aid to reformist illusions as well as to the penetration of the masses by fascist demagogy.

The I.C.O. and its affiliated organizations in contrast with the ultra-left tactics of the C.I., have always done everything in their power to establish a broad united front of all workers for the fight against the bourgeoisie. The I.C.O. however, has always rejected any compromise on basic questions, for confusion in these matters only helps reformism split the working class in the interest of collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

On these grounds we are opposed to participation in the International Congress of the Centrists. We are working for an international united front of the organizations affiliated with the Second and Third Internationals, to attain specific concrete immediate aims in the struggle against the capitalist offensive, fascism and imper-

ialist war preparations, rejecting all compromise on questions of principle and protecting the full freedom of mutual criticism. The conference of the centrists can only hinder the establishment of such an international united front. The conference can only lead to the formation, on the basis of threadbare centrist principles, of a block against communism and the Soviet Union.

We are appealing to you to come around to our point of view. Today more than ever is clarity of principles necessary.

The traditions of your party place upon you the duty of preventing your splendid organization, composed of the best elements in the Swedish working class, from being destroyed through a deviation from the communist position.

Yours,

I.C.O., ENLARGED BURO

The session of the enlarged bureau of the I.C.O. calls upon the C.P. of Swedn to:

- a) Publish in the party press the I.C.O.'s decision on the proposal of the Communist Party of Sweden to take part in the international centrist conference and to make it available and submit it for discussion.
- b) Conduct an organized discussion of the I.C.O. decision in the press and in the organization of the C.P.S. with the participation of representatives of the Bureau and of the organizations of the I.C.O.

AGAINST A NEW CENTRIST INTERNATIONAL

Letter of the International Buro

We publish below the letter of the Buro of the International Communist Opposition to the international conference of Independent Socialist Parties, which took place in Paris towards the beginning of September.

The conference was attended, among others, by the Norwegian Labor Party (Tranmaelites); the Socialist Workers Party of Germany; the French Party of Proletarian Unity (P. U. P.); the Italian Socialist Party (Maximalists); the Independent Labor Party; the Left Socialist-Revolutionists of Russia; the Independent Socialist Party of Holland (O. S. P.); the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland (Sneevlietites); the International Left Opposition (Trotskyites). The Communist Party of Sweden, adhering to the I. C. O., and the Iberian Communist Federation (Maurinites) were present as "observers."

The Buro of the International Communist Opposition is in receipt of your letter of July 31 of this year inviting it to participate in an "international conference of independent Socialist parties and groups" scheduled to take place on August 27 and 28 in Paris. The Buro wishes to acknowledge, furthermore, receipt of copies of the resolutions of the meeting of the International Committee at Brussels, which are to constitute the agenda for the Paris Conference.

Against the Centrist Conference

The Buro of the I. C. O. is not in the position to accept this invitation nor can it recommend its acceptance to its affiliated organizations. The Buro would be very much obliged if you would convey to the conference this decision and the reasons which have prompted it.

The reasons are as follows:

1. The I. C. O. is an international organized Communist movement. Its goal involves a struggle for the embodiment of a definite line of Communist tactics within the Communist International and its various sections, as well as within the working class movement as a whole. From the wording of the invitation and also of the resolutions of the Brussels Conference, we gather that the particular purpose of the Paris Conference is to amalgamate parties and groups, which are not oriented towards Communism, into a new International. It is to be the International of struggle against both the Socialist and the Communist Internationals and their various sections. We infer, moreover, from the resolutions of the Brussels Conference, that the parties and groups allied to it are going to aid in the building up of a new party in Germany, not to reform and rebuild the Communist Party of Germany but to destroy it!

We, however, hold the view that genuine proletarian revolutionists bent on victorious struggle against Fascism, against the danger of imperialist war and against capitalist rule, must have as their aim the complete destruction of reformism, of its policies and of its organizations.

Reformism is primarily responsible for the victory of Fascism in Germany and for the bitter defeat which the German and the world working class movement as a whole have suffered as a consequence. We are, furthermore, of the opinion that the liquidation of reformism can be realized and made to serve the working class only if it takes place on the basis of Communism and with the aim in view of strengthening the Communist movement.

But the resolutions of the Brussels Conference indicate, that while the new International is to be launched at the Paris Conference aims to combat open reformism of the type espoused by the Socialist International and its allied parties, it does not make a genuine and complete break with reformism as such. It is but an attempt to oppose to open reformism and to Communism its own particular variety of reformism.

The documents sent us show very clearly that the "independent Socialist parties" disavow Communism, not only the sort espoused by the C. I. and its various sections but any sort whatsoever. This all comes out in the demagogic paragraphs where, in sharp and unambiguous terms, the C. I. and its sections are accused of treason to Communism and the proletarian revolution in order to serve the national interests of the Soviet Union. The "independent Socialist parties" which have called this conference are themselves so far from Communism, however, that they dread even using the term Communism in connection with their proposed new International and their new German party, let alone setting up Communist fundamentals and goals for themselves. The basic principles which distinguish revolutionary Marxism from reformism are surely not recent discoveries. They have long been well known and have been subjected to practical tests. They involve the dictatorship of the proletariat as against bourgeois democracy; workers councils (soviets) as the decisive form of the state under the proletarian dictatorship; the need for revolutionary power to smash the bourgeois state and to create the foundation for the building of socialism; the need for united leadership of the working class by a party which carries on propaganda for these goals and organizes the struggles for their realization; the need for firm discipline within the party; the duty of defending the first and only state in which today the working class has supreme power and socialism is being realized--the Soviet Union. But the resolution concerning the international struggle of the working class says not a single word about any of these basic principles. Those joining the new International are only asked to "acknowledge the basic principles of the revolutionary struggle for the realization of socialism." This formula is so vague and general that Stampfer could sign it quite as readily as Wells; Leon Blum could do so as readily as Vandervelde. Didn't Wells inform the Paris Conference on the Socialist International that the "second revolution would be the socialist revolution which would give to Germany its first, true Republic." This evasion of the first principles of the proletarian revolution signifies nothing other than secret abhorrence of them. The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that the actual principles upon which the new international is to be built are those of a distinct variety of reformism well known in the history of the labor movement--namely, left reformism or centrism. It is that species of reformism whose best known and most influential representative was the Independent Socialist Party of Germany (U. S. P. D.) under the leadership of Kautsky, Hilferding, Haase, Crispian, etc., and which developed into a mass party in Germany in the years 1919-1920; it is the type of reformism embodied in the so-called Second-and-a-Half International (Vienna International), a short-lived international organization. The new venture, therefore, is nothing more than an attempt to renew the experiment of centrism, under new conditions, on an international scale. These new conditions are characterized by the fact that sections of Socialist workers owing to the victory of Fascism in Germany, have begun to doubt the value of reformism and of bourgeois democracy, that quite a few adherents of Communism have gone to the right, but above all by the fact that the leaders of Social-democracy are employing left,

centrist phrases and ideas as a means of salvaging reformism and restoring its badly shaken prestige in the working class.

The history of centrism both nationally and internationally clearly establishes the following:

1. Centrism is not a fit weapon with which to correct the tactical line of the Communist party. It is undeniable that many Communist parties in the years 1918-1920 made very serious tactical errors (abstained from revolutionary use of parliaments, despaired of feasibility of revolutionary work in the trade unions, etc.). And it is, moreover, true that, on several of these questions, the centrists had a correct line. But, because of the unsoundness at bottom of their general political position, the centrist parties could exert no influence in correcting the mistakes of the Communist Party--which, with all its mistakes, was after all following a sound fundamental program in general--let alone take the place of the Communist parties.

Since its inception, the International Communist Opposition has carried on a stubborn fight against the tactical mistakes of the Communist International, the Communist Party of Germany, and other sections. But it has conducted this fight strictly on the basis of the fundamental Communist position. Our experiences in Germany after the seizure of power by the Fascists have confirmed the fact that our critical methods are the only feasible ones.

2. The experience of the last fifteen years shows clearly that the strongest centrist parties, even the whole centrist International itself, go thru a short period of lively activity and then break up, precisely for the reason that they split up into a definite reformist wing and into a Communist wing. This experience is confirmed, furthermore, by the History of the Socialist Workers Party of Germany; it started to become the revolutionary mass party of Germany but it has steadily lost members since its inception and has already suffered a split. It is not possible in the long run to consolidate organizations which attempt to follow a "middle" position between open reformism and Communism. Such organizations are destined to fail, since part of their adherents are bound to move forward to Communism and others to fall back to open reformism.

We are firmly persuaded, therefore, that organizations which attempt to build nationally and internationally on a centrist base such as is indicated in the Brussels resolutions carry within themselves the seed of splits and dissolution.

The decisive test of workers organizations is the revolution, the immediate struggle for power. The example of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany during the years 1918-1919 in Germany affords a very clear instance of how centrist parties meet this decisive test. The perpetual oscillation of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany between revolution and counter-revolution, between bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship, between revolutionary struggle and rotten compromise, led to the defeat of the German working class at every decisive situation.

The attempt to build up an organization on a centrist base to challenge the authority of the Communist party nationally and internationally can lead today to but one definite result, namely, to give aid and comfort to reformism and to extend its influence among the workers, even the reformism is patently bankrupt in its strongest section, Germany. Such an attempt, therefore, does not work in the direction of revolutionary Marxism but rather runs counter to it. It doesn't lead to the unity of the working class on a revolutionary basis as its proponents maintain. On the contrary, it will bring on further splits, disorganization, confusion and disintegration, thus halting and retarding the renewal.

of the working class struggle against victorious Fascism in Germany and the massing of Fascist strength in other countries.

THE NEED FOR UNITY!

These considerations explain why the International Communist Opposition refuses to take part in an international conference whose avowed purpose is the formation of a centrist International and the bolstering up of the centrist Socialist Workers Party in Germany. On the other hand, the International Communist Opposition will be ready at any time and place to work shoulder to shoulder with the independent Socialist parties for such particular aims as will strengthen the working class in its struggle against Fascism and tend to consolidate its fighting strength. We maintain that the mutual cooperation of all workers organizations in opposition to Fascism is not only feasible but urgently necessary. Should the conference wish to further this aim, it would be bound, of course, to give up the idea of excluding the Socialist and Communist Internationals and their allied groups. On the contrary, it would have to get together with them and substitute for its international conference of independent Socialist parties a council of representatives from all anti-Fascist workers organizations. If the leaders of the Socialist and Communist Internationals refuse to take part, the conference would have to devote itself exclusively to consideration of ways and means of furthering the eventual realizations of such an anti-Fascist united front.

The tightening of the Fascist terror in Germany as well as the imminence of imperialist war demand immediate united action of all workers organizations opposed to Fascism and imperialism, irrespective of the fundamental differences between them on other matters.

A new attempt must be made at achieving a minimum of united action of all proletarian groups against the Fascist terror.

As concrete aims of such a united action we propose the following:

1. Outside of Germany. (a) United mass meetings and demonstrations against the Fascist terror in Germany. Preparations of proletarian mass actions against Fascism independently of the bourgeoisie, such as strikes against the hauling of German goods. (b) United collections for the victims of Fascist terror, particularly the calling upon trade unions and cooperatives for this purpose, as well as for the financing of illegal work against Fascism within Germany. (c) Material and moral support to the German workers in their endeavor to rebuild genuine trade unions (such at present can be constituted only as illegal skeleton organizations). (d) Exchange of reports as well as mutual technical aid.

2. In addition, within Germany: (a) Common organization for the defense and support of illegal work against the Fascist terror. (b) United action for rebuilding of independent trade unions.

The Independent Labor Party, which in its last resolutions voted against the creation of a new International and a new party in Germany, has for some time now carried on a united front campaign with the Communist Party of England against Fascism and the war danger. This would be unthinkable if it considered the Communist Party of England and the Communist International to be counter-revolutionary.

Our proposals have in view the broadening of this effort along two lines: (1) from a national to an international scale and (2) from being limited to united front with the Communist Party to embracing all workers organizations.

We would greatly appreciate if you would bring our proposals before the conference and get for them such consideration as would lead to definite decisions regarding them.

With Communist greetings.

Buro of the International Communist Opposition
Paris, end of August, 1933.

Buro of the International Communist Opposition

To the National Conference of the Communist Party Opposition of the United States:

Dear Comrades:

The Buro of the International Communist Opposition sends its revolutionary greeting to your conference. We are glad to know that you have gained a number of significant and fruitful victories as a result of the working-out and application of correct communist tactics. We welcome the fact that in your theses on the N.R.A. and the labor movement you have attempted to formulate a program, enabling you to utilize the present upsurge of mass activity in America manifesting itself in an influx into the trade unions, the A.F. of L. and a wave of strikes, for the organization of successful revolutionary action and the winning-over of masses to communism. You have shown that you make every possible effort to realize this program in action. You have succeeded in gaining influence in mass strikes; you have informed the workers at mass meetings of the true character of the N.R.A. fraud. You have created a center for the Marxist training of American workers in your New Workers school. You have been able to gain sympathy for correct communist tactics in the ranks of the followers of the official Communist Party, and for communist principles among the social-democratic workers and non-party workers because you applied the correct tactics for the defense of these principles.

We especially welcome the fact that you have tried successfully to arouse and strengthen the spirit of international solidarity among the American workers. Your campaign against German and international fascism and your solidarity with the unfortunate victims of Nazi terror have been exemplary.

We are especially thankful to you for your splendid efforts made to support financially the extremely difficult illegal work of the Communist Party Opposition in Germany and the activities of the Foreign committee of the Communist Party Opposition. Your efforts in this field will serve as a stimulus to other sections of the International Communist Opposition.

We are convinced that on the line which you are following you will soon gain further political and organizational victories. Do not slacken in the struggle, however difficult it may be. Everyone of your forward steps is of great international significance; it is a material and moral strengthening of the labor movement in other countries; an encouragement of the illegal fighters in the fascist states, especially to the heroic fighters of the Communist Party of Germany Opposition.

The events of the last few years and the defeat of the German working class in particular have shown how absolutely necessary the struggle of the International Communist Opposition is. If the proletarian revolution is to succeed in those countries which are at present capitalist, the working class needs communist parties which are capable of discovering and working-out the concrete tasks and the concrete road of the proletarian revolution corresponding to the particular class relations of each country and to prepare and orga-

nize them accordingly, as was done in Russia. The aim that the International Communist Opposition has pursued and is following, without being disconcerted, is to reform the Communist International so that its sections will be able to fulfill these tasks. The way in which the leading bodies of the Communist International reacted to the defeat of the German working class and the Communist Party of Germany shows that the necessary reform of the Communist International can only be effected in the way in which the International Communist Opposition has persisted from the very beginning: namely, from below, thru acting as a nucleus which unites loyalty to communist principles with a correct tactical application of these principles and gathers the members of the Communist International around itself and in this way wins over the Communist International sections.

For the International Communist Opposition to fulfill its task it is necessary that it guard against any concession whatsoever to such communist elements which like the Trotzkyites organize a struggle against the Soviet Union and the Communist International under a supposedly communist banner; who want to build a centrist party and a centrist international and to further the desertion of workers from the camp of communism and keep social democratic workers from going over to communism.

The crisis which the international labor movement is going thru, as a result of the defeat of the German proletariat, has not left the International Communist Opposition untouched. The International Communist Opposition has had to break with the Communist Party of Sweden because its leadership has gone over to centrism-Trotzkyism and because they have acted contrary to the most elementary principles of international communist discipline. But precisely as a result of its irreconcilable struggle against all centrist and Trotzkyite tendencies has the Communist Party (Opposition) been able to continue its work successfully and united in that country in which the labor movement has suffered the severest blows. In Germany after the victory of fascism the Communist Party (Opposition) has made progress in winning-over the members of the Communist Party. Thru its work it has forced the leadership of the Communist International and the Communist Party of Germany to undertake a series of corrections of their ultra-left tactics. The German experience also shows that the objective of winning-over and reforming the Communist International makes possible for the Communist Party (Opposition) to gain followers and sympathy among the social-democratic workers disappointed with reformist policies. Moreover, your own experience in the U.S. has proved that the policy of the Communist Party (Opposition) as a communist tendency does not hamper but furthers the independent organization of mass activities and the independent approach to reformist and non-party workers.

For that reason the Bureau of the International Communist Opposition fully agrees with the resolution of the majority of the National Committee on "The new party and Trotzkyism". The resolution proposed by Comrade Zam as a minority report of the national committee, on the other hand, contains a series of fundamental concessions to centrism and Trotzkyism, the acceptance of which would have disastrous consequences for the Communist Party (Opposition). The Communist Party (Opposition) cannot adopt the viewpoint of Comrade Zam, that in relation to the centrist parties we use a "tactic aiming at the conversion of these parties to communism rather than their destruction and absorption of their masses into the

communist parties" without giving up its character as a communist organization. The centrist parties are reformist organizations even if they have separated themselves organizationally from open reformism, and the winning-over of their members for communism is impossible without an organizational break with the reformist elements. It is not our task to guard the organizational unity of centrist parties. On the contrary, we must do everything so that their members will break with the centrists and will adhere to communist principles and correct communist tactics not merely in words but in deeds, i.e. to the Communist Opposition.

The proposal of Comrade Zam to establish a new Communist International without the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is from the standpoint of communist principles not acceptable. There can be no communist international without the leading party of the first proletarian dictatorship. Even after the International Communist Opposition succeeds in winning over a number of important sections of the Communist International it cannot found a new international without the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It will remain even then a communist tendency striving for a reformed Communist International, i.e. the cooperation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the basis of correct communist tactics and the elimination of the monopoly of leadership by this party. The founding of a new party which Comrade Zam proposes must lead to capitulation on principle before centrism and Trotzkyism and to the destruction of the hopeful beginnings which our American organization has made towards winning over members of the official Communist Party. The organizations of the Communist Party (Opposition) must strive to become the communist parties of their countries, but only through gathering around themselves the communist workers of their country, thru winning over the official sections of the Communist International in capitalist countries.

The proposal for the international broadening of the International Communist Opposition is that its organizations in individual countries fight as the Communist Party (Opposition), fight as the advance guard for the reform of the Communist International, that they win tactical successes in the struggle and show themselves to be the ablest fighters for communism.

Our German organizations, the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition), has become, despite the most difficult conditions, a recognized factor in the illegal German labor movement. The ranks which our illegal literature reaches are greater than the number of readers we had at the time of our legal newspapers. In America our organization has already increased. If this work continues if everything is done thru international cooperation and mutual ideological and material support in order to secure its progress, then, the International Communist Opposition will gain prominence in other countries, too.

The victory of fascism in Germany, the growing fascist tendencies in other countries, the open bankruptcy of reformism in Germany, which was the strongest pillar of the Second International, the effects of the economic development and of the capitalist attempts to get out of the crisis--all these present now and complicated problems to the communist world movement and the international labor movement. They cannot be solved by the ultra-left methods. They can certainly not be solved by the centrist-

Trotskyite methods, which, consciously or unconsciously, lead to the destruction and liquidation of communism. The solution of these problems call more than ever for the greatest exertion of critical and positive work by the Communist Part, (Opposition). This work is progressing and is proving to be fruitful.

In Sweden, the leadership of the Communist Party of Sweden has gone over to centrism and opportunism. On the other hand, due to the intervention of the International Communist Opposition, the fundamental problems of communist tactics in the world to-day, have been placed before the membership of the Communist Party, and the world of labor in general. Thus, criticism from the ranks of the members has already begun to set in. The inconvenient insistence of the International Communist Opposition against any opportunist deviation or vacillation has everywhere aroused forces which oppose them, has increased the authority of the International Communist Opposition, and has created new connections in several countries. The international labor movement is at present in process of great fermentation and transformation. It is the transformation of the labor movement to have the ability and readiness to lead the world revolution a step further, to fight for a new big break thru the capitalist front. It involves the decline and the liquidation of reformism and the raising of communist parties to a higher stage of maturity and ability to struggle. It is inevitable that this tremendously deep process of transformation embracing dozens of countries, millions of workers and a considerable period of time should be connected with all sorts of signs of disintegration, vacillations and errors in the camp of the working class.

Communist inflexibility, firmness and clarity are necessary at such a time in order to set right comrades who are vacillating, to clear up confusion, in order to prepare and win the final victory.

We hope, comrades, that your conference will come forward with new proposals for the successful struggle of the Communist Party (Opposition) in the U.S.A. and for the International Communist Opposition.

With communist greetings,
For the Bureau of the
International Communist Opposition

Heinrich Brandler

To the Conference of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition)

Dear Comrades:

The Communist Opposition of Alsace-Lorraine sends its fraternal greetings to the conference of the American section.

We are following your reports on the planned, successful work of the Communist Party Opposition of the United States of America with a great deal of joy and satisfaction. We are gratified at your complete co-ordination of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary practice. The political work of the Communist Party Opposition of the United States combines the complete rejection of and opposition to all reformist and Centrist illusions and speculations, an untiring struggle for the clarity and sharpness of communist principles, for Leninist strategy and tactics with the application of these principles. The educational work done by the Communist Party Opposition in the United States thru its papers, pamphlets and its New Workers School, its successes on the trade union field and in the correct application of the Leninist united front tactics prove to us that our American section possesses the necessary revolutionary militancy in order to solve its problems in the difficult class struggles now being waged in the United States, and to be waged by the American working class in the future.

The Communist Party Opposition of Alsace-Lorraine, engaged in a most difficult struggle against the rule of French imperialism, also faces serious problems. The French bourgeoisie is conducting an extensive attack on salaries, wages and social relief, wishing to shift the burdens of the crisis unto the workers by the most brutal means. The first act of robbery, a considerable reduction of salaries of officials and pensions, has already been put into effect. A political attack on the democratic rights of the workers and for elimination of parliament is being prepared at the same time. The bourgeoisie demands a dictator, and is organizing and financing fascism --which is becoming stronger and stronger from week to week -- appearing at first in the form of various fascist organizations. Fascism is expected to create that internal peace so necessary to the warlike aims of French imperialism towards the attainment of which it is preparing by arming feverishly.

Tremendous tasks are facing the Communist Party Opposition of Alsace-Lorraine, engaged in the struggle against the attacks of capitalism, of fascism, and the imperialist war danger. The French social-democracy is preparing the way for these criminal aims. It is first among the war propagandists; it supports the attacks of capitalism and it sabotages the proletarian united front. The Communist Party of France has completely isolated itself from the masses thru its ultra-left course; it is without any influence whatsoever and persists despite constant failures in its sectarian policy, which makes any real united front impossible.

The creation of a broad mass front against the attacks of capitalism, against the menace of fascism, against the imperialist war danger, therefore depends primarily on the ideological work of enlightenment and practical organizational activities of the Communist Party Opposition. The Communist Party Opposition of Alsace-Lorraine is, at the same time, the champion of all Alsatian workers,

petty bourgeois people, and peasants culturally oppressed in their fight for national emancipation against the policies of French imperialism which suppresses nationalities. The Communist Party Opposition of Alsace-Lorraine is in control of the municipal government of Strasbourg. It is utilizing its parliamentary position as much as possible for the protection of the working masses against the attacks of capitalism. At the same time it combines these tasks with its efforts for the creation of a proletarian defense front, for the establishment of trade union unity and the defeat of the ultra-left course of the Communist Party of France. The successful work of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition) has been a constant spur to us and will continue to be so in the future.

We wish your conference success. We hope and believe that the work of this present conference will be the basis for further successful work for communism and for the proletarian revolution.

With revolutionary, communist greetings,

The Party leadership of the Communist Party
Opposition, Alsace-Lorraine.

Charles Hueber

TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (OPPOSITION) CONVENTION.

The National Committee of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) sends its revolutionary greetings to the conference and hopes the discussion will be successful. The German working class is eagerly following the political and economic development of the United States of America. The severe crisis of American capitalism has destroyed the illusions of German workers that the Dollar Kingdom, played up by the reformists, could satisfy the world.

This cannot be accomplished by monopolist imperialism. It can only be accomplished by the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, by the revolutionary working class, led by a united Communist Party with correct strategy and tactics which enable it to lead the workers in the struggle, to strengthen the class consciousness of the workers and to overcome reformism thru the winning over of workers to Communism. The decline of capitalism and the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union demonstrate very clearly that only the proletarian revolution, only the road taken by the Russian proletariat, can free the working class and save human society.

The significance and role of a Communist Party was made obvious by the German developments, even tho negatively. The majority of the German working class was and is anti-fascist, but the impotency of the Communist Party of Germany, the giving up of the work in the reformist mass organizations, the theory of social-fascism, the nationalist deviations, the sectarian policy of the Communist Party of Germany leadership and a false inner-party regime prevented the winning-over of reformist workers to Communism and also failed to attract that part of the petty-bourgeoisie which had become greatly impoverished. These circumstances and the policy of capitulation by the Socialist Party of Germany made the victory of Fascism possible. But even the ten months of Fascist dictatorship prove that the working class cannot be led towards victory as long as the Communist Party persists in its ultra-left course.

Disintegration penetrates all strata of society in the fascist camp, especially among the petty-bourgeoisie. There is even disintegration among the Storm Troops (SA). Almost daily S.A. people are arrested. Many hundreds are now in concentration camps. But Fascist terror is capable of suppressing all such movements.

The Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) is continuing its work despite severe blows of fascist terror. After the victory of Fascism the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) was not only able to withstand the terror with relatively small losses, but our organization became relatively the most active. The Fascist plebiscite in November proved that the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) knew how to act quickly and determinedly. In Wurtemberg the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) was the only organization which took a stand against the Fascist plebiscite and for Communism thru leaflets. The Communist Party of Germany and the Socialist Party of Germany remained completely inactive. In Hamburg our prompt distribution of propaganda material was appreciated everywhere. Six days prior to the election, the Communist Party of Germany, influential in this section of Germany, had not yet issued any material on the elections. The results of the elections were falsified. The terror was unheard of. The workers present at the polls when the vote was counted were arrested. During the week of election no less than 12,000 workers were arrested in Berlin. Whoever did not vote was after the elections considered as an anti-fascist and maltreated. We

know of horrible cases of terror.

All our comrades are being exposed to brutal persecutions. In the Storm Troops (S. A.) camps, prisons and concentration camps, they are beaten and severely injured. A Berlin comrade of ours was put up against the wall and the bestial S.A. men shot to the left and to the right of him in order to force him to reveal addresses. Two former employees of our paper were immediately arrested after the Reichstag fire, and brutally manhandled. In Zschachwitz there is not a single member of ours who is not in a concentration camp or under arrest. In a certain section of Berlin not a single member of ours has been spared an investigation by the police. One of the members has already been arrested twice; another one is living illegally. Here only a single comrade of ours is working. The quest of rooms is a very difficult one to solve. The publications must always be printed in different places and the securing of the publications printed abroad is connected with great financial expenses. The International Relief Association has the greatest financial difficulties trying to aid the relatives of those under arrest, to take care of the refugees and comrades living illegally. However, we are continuing our work fearlessly. Everyone of our members participates in the daily struggles. Our publications appear regularly. In the main they appear photographed in vest pocket size. The editions are increasing. We are issuing the Junius Brief which numbers six pages, fortnightly, and a number of District newspapers. One copy often passes thru dozens of hands. At the present time we are conducting a campaign against war armaments and the rapid rise in prices under the central slogan of: "Workers Control of Production."

Our group is leading in the creation of proletarian trade union. In Berlin a joint committee of action, consisting of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) and Socialist Party workers, was formed for the creation of an illegal metal workers union. In the leadership of the book printers, Communist Party of Germany (Opposition), Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Workers Party and Socialist Party workers are cooperating. In the Stuttgart industrial area the metal workers committee under our leadership is working together with the Socialist Party and Communist Party workers. "The Metal Worker" of Berlin has already appeared four times in an edition of from 400 to 500 copies, while, for example, the paper of the Berlin Communist Party of Germany metal workers union, which had refused to cooperate with the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition), appears in an edition of only 300 copies. We are fighting for a proletarian class trade union which embraces all militant workers.

The Communist Party of Germany is again falling back into its ultra left Red Trade Union course, is fighting every trade union which does not from the very beginning accept all the decisions of the Red Trade Union International and the Communist International. The crisis in the Communist Party of Germany is sharpening. More and more fractional groupings are coming out openly. The ultra-left policy of the Communist Party leadership is rendering the Party impotent. The Communist Party of Germany regards the dissatisfaction of the broad masses in itself already as a revolutionary upsurge, altho this dissatisfaction is merely first providing the basis for the winning over of these elements to Communism. The most difficult part of the work, that is, to win the workers for proletarian mass activity, is yet to be done. That requires a thoroughly reformed Communist Party of Germany for which we are working. The incompetence of the Communist Party of Germany leadership is at the same time making for cooperation of the best elements in the Party with our Group. More than half of our local groups have solid connections w

the Communist Party of Germany despite being often disturbed by arrests. The South section of Berlin, has at the present time a class for Communist Party and Socialist Party comrades, one for functionaries and one for new members, thus providing for systematic extension of our influence.

Our work can best be estimated in the light of the fact that what we have available for our monthly budget is smaller than the monthly salaries of two Communist Party of Germany officials. Under the terror our work is becoming more and more difficult. A great many of our leading comrades have been arrested or have escaped or must report daily to the police. Apartments must be changed very frequently. Thanks to a certain amount of sympathy from Communist Party of Germany circles, we often get aid from them. The maintenance of connections with the out-of-town districts is very, very difficult. At the present time we are maintaining personal connections with four districts. Unfortunately, we do not have the money to go to the others. But when connections are broken and have to be reestablished, it seems as if nothing can stop us. Dangerous bicycle tours often fulfill this purpose. We simply lack the necessary funds for a systematic touring of the districts. Despite all persecutions, our membership, organized in small groups of Five fulfills its daily tasks, participates in political controversies and takes an active interest in International Communist Opposition work. Our membership agrees completely with the International Communist Opposition bureau, especially since it has learned its lesson as a result of the dispute with the Socialist Workers Party.

We are in agreement with the measures taken against the Swedes and with the transformation of the Mot Dag (Norwegian group) into a sympathetic organization. We welcome the creation of a sympathizing group in Denmark. We welcome the proposed disciplinary measures against Mourer in Strasbourg. We also welcome the fraction work started by our Strasbourg comrades in the trade unions. Last, but not least, we welcome your successful work in the trade unions and your participation in the economic struggles. We have informed the German workers about your work, also of your efforts in the struggle against Fascism and the active solidarity and support which we have received as a result of your efforts. Express our warmest thanks to the Conference and to the workers of the United States of America.

We hope and wish that the Conference, in keeping with the traditions of our American fraternal section, will further develop its tactics in the spirit of the basic principles of the International Communist Opposition, will unerringly continue its Communist course and create in the United States that firm advance guard which will help bring victory for the Leninist tactical line.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY (OPPOSITION)